

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2261
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 1467

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: OVIP, NL
SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER KLAAUW VISIT TO US, APRIL 10-11

REF: STATE 61081

1. WHEN VAN DER KLAAUW WCOMES TO WASHINGTON, HE WILL HAVE BEEN IN OFFICE FOUR MONTHS. IT HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT PERIOD. HE HAS HAD TO HANDLE TWO FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES THAT ARE CAUSING SERIOUS DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONTROVERSY: THE PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT OF THE ENRICHMENT PLANT AT LMELO (AND THE RELATED ISSUE OF CONDITIONS FOR FULFILLMENT OF THE ENRICHMENT CONTRACT WITH BRAZIL) AND ERW. IN BOTH CASES HIS PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN WEEK. BARELY MASTER OF HIS BRIEF AND LAMENTABLY INEXPERIENCED IN PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS, HE HAS GONE VERY FAR IN COMMITTING HIMSELF TO ONGOING CONSULTATIONS WITH PARLIAMENT THAT INHIBIT DAY-TO-DAY POLICY MAKING. ABROAD TOO, VAN DER KLAAUW HAS BEEN LESS THAN STRONG AS HE MADE THE ROUNDS OF HIS BRITISH, GERMAN AND BRAZILIAN COLLEAGUES WITH HAT IN HAND ASKING FOR THEIR CONCURRENCE FOR CONDITIONS IMPOSED ON THE GOVERNMENT BY THE PARLIAMENT RELATING TO THE BRAZILIAN CONTRACT. WASHINGTON VISIT, WITH ITS FOCUS ON DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE, WILL BE MUCH MORE CONGENIAL TO HIM THAN THE HURLY-BURLY OF PARLIAMENT, AND NO
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DOUBT HE IS LOOKING FORWARD TO HIS FIRST EXPOSURE AS MINISTER TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS. EVEN THOUGH VAN DER KLAAUW MAY THEREFORE BE IN A RELAXED MOOD AND, BECAUSE OF HIS BACKGROUND AND PERSONALITY, SHOULD BE AN AGREEABLE DISCUSSION PARTNER, WE SHOULD USE THE OCCASION TO SET FORTH OUR VIEWS CLEARLY AND DIRECTLY SINCE THIS MAY HELP VAN DER KLAAUW CORRECT THE FLOUNDERING WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED HIS TENURE AND GET A STRONGER GRIP ON

CRITICAL ISSUES OF FOREIGN POLICY.

2. FOLLOWING ARE EMBASSY'S COMMENTS ON POINTS MENTIONED REFTEL:

A. ERW-BY THE TIME VAN DER KLAUW VISITS WASHINGTON, NATO WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE DEALT WITH THIS ISSUE, AND WE WILL KNOW THE DUTCH POSITION. DISCUSSION WITH VAN DER KLAUW WILL DEPEND UPON OUTCOME OF NATO CONSULTATIONS. CURRENT SITUATION IS REPORTED IN THE HAGUE 1231 AND 1232.

B. NATO AND NETHERLANDS DEFENSE POLICY-THIS YEAR THE GON WILL HAVE TO MAKE A NUMBER OF CONCRETE DECISIONS. THE POSITION OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT ON NATO TENDS TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE POSITIVE THAN THAT OF ITS PREDECESSOR, BUT IT HAS NOT YET TAKEN ANY SPECIFIC ACTIONS. THE MOST IMMEDIATE DECISION RELATES TO THE REPLACEMENT OF ASW AIRCRAFT, FOR WHICH THE US P-3C ORION IS THE OBVIOUS (AND THE CHEAPEST)OPTION. SECOND, A DECISION IS REQUIRED ON THE DUTCH NUCLEAR ROLE, AS CURRENT F-104S ARE REPLACED BY F-16'S AND THE HONEST JOHN BY LANCE. GIVEN THE PREVAILING MOOD AMONG THE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENT ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, PRESENT GOVERNMENT, DESPITE ITS MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD ALLIANCE, MAY WELL LOOK FOR WAYS TO SCALE DOWN THE DUTCH NUCLEAR ROLE. THE THIRD ISSUE IS THE POSSIBLE FORWARD DEPLOYMENT IN GERMANY OF A SECOND DUTCH BRIGADE. ALL SIGNALS HERE INDICATE THAT THIS WOULD CAUSE INSUPERABLE COST PROBLEMS,AND IT IS GENERALLY ASSERTED THAT DUTCH DEFENSE MONEY CAN BE USED TO BETTER ADVANTAGE.

C. THE BONN SUMMIT-THE DUTCH CONTINUE TO HAVE SOME BASIC
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MISGININGS ABOUT DECISION MAKING AT SUMMIT MEETINGS. VAN DER KLAUW MAY UNDERLINE LONG-STANDING DUTCH POSITION THAT EC SHOULD BE MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN SUMMITS. HE MAY EVEN ADD THAT SMALLER EC MEMBERS STILL HOPE TO BE BRIEFED AND CONSULTED IN ADVANCE THROUGH EC.
D. NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE-IT IS VERY MUCH IN THE US INTEREST FOR THE DUTCH TO UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. ALTHOUGH VAN DER KLAUW AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION MINISTER DE KONING PLACE MORE STRESS ON EC UNITY/REGARDING NORTH-SOUTH MATTERS THAN THE FORMER GOVERNMENT,A CORE OF ACTIVISTS IN THE PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE RESISTS DEPARTURE FROM PREVIOUS DUTCH POLICIES. TO STRENGTHEN THE MODERATE LINE, WE RECOMMEND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 THE HAGUE 1467

THAT UNDER SECRETARY COOPER BRIEF THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON US NORTH-SOUTH POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY. (SEE THE HAGUE A-18 AND THE HAGUE 920 FOR AN ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT AID AND THE HAGUE 1208 FOR REPORT ON SHIFT IN DUTCH POLICY ON DEBT RELIEF.)

E. DISARMAMENT, SSOD - GON POSITION WILL BE DETERMINED MAINLY IN NATO, BUT DUTCH ARE ALSO LIKELY TO SUPPORT SPADEWORK IN CCD. AT THIS JUNCTURE WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANY DUTCH INITIATIVES, ALTHOUGH THEY REMAIN DEEPLY INTERESTED IN PROGRESS IN SALT, CTB AND CW. DUTCH MAY SUPPORT CALLS TO THIS END. GIVEN THE POLITICAL SITUATION HERE, IT WILL BE VIRTUALLY MANDATORY FOR THE GON TO DEMONSTRATE ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR REDUCING THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. DUTCH DECLARATORY POLICY IS, OF COURSE, IN CLOSE PARALLEL TO THAT OF USG.

F. NON-PROLIFERATION - GON EFFORTS TO SEEK BRITISH, GERMAN AND BRAZILIAN ACCEPTANCE OF PARLIAMENTARY REQUIREMENT FOR PLUTONIUM STORAGE REGIME PRIOR TO DELIVERY OF ENRICHED URANIUM HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL. THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY URANIT THAT IT PLANS TO PROCEED WITH AN ENRICHMENT PLANT IN THE FRG OUTSIDE THE URENCO CONTRACT IS TAKEN HERE AS ANOTHER INDICATION THAT THE PATIENCE OF URENCO PARTNERS IS WEARING THIN AND THAT FURTHER INSISTENCE BY THE DUTCH ON SAFEGUARDS WILL WRECK THE TRIPARTITE CONSORTIUM AND LEAVE THE BRITISH AND GERMANS FREE
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TO PROCEED ALONE IN THE ENRICHMENT FIELD. SO FAR, GON HAS BEEN THE MOST SOLID EUROPEAN SUPPORTER OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S NON-PROLIFERATION POLICIES. IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO MAINTAIN DUTCH SUPPORT DESPITE OUR PROBLEM WITH PAST AND CURRENT GOVERNMENT EFFORTS WHICH IMPLY ACCEPTANCE OF BRAZILIAN REPROCESSING. A FULL, FRANK BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT HIGH LEVEL ON NON-PROLIFERATION IS OVERDUE. WE RECOMMEND THAT, IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR GERARD SMITH REVIEW THIS SUBJECT WITH VAN DER KLAUW.

3. IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL TO DISCUSS ADDITIONAL SUBJECTS WITH VAN DER KLAUW.

A. EAST-WEST RELATIONS - AS INDICATED THE HAGUE 1331 OFFICIAL GON REACTION TO JUST-CONCLUDED CSCE, WHICH WAS STATED PUBLICLY BY VAN DER KLAUW, HAS BEEN SIMILAR TO THAT OF USG. HOWEVER, CHIEF DUTCH CSCE NEGOTIATOR VAN DER VALK, IN PRESS INTERVIEW, TOOK A CHEAP SHOT BY DESCRIBING US "ATTACKS" AT BELGRADE AS MOTIVATED PARTLY BY NEED TO PLACATE AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG. WHILE THIS STORY MAY REFLECT UNFORTUNATE FORMULATION BY VAN DER VALK OR PERHAPS FAULTY REPORTING, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO STRESS OUR POSITIVE EVALUATION, WITH APPROPRIATE EMPHASIS ON US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND THE NEED TO MAINTAIN WESTERN UNITY BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID.

B. NPW VISITS TO DUTCH PORTS - SINCE LAST SUMMER WE HAVE RELENTLESSLY PURSUED THIS ISSUE WITH GON OFFICIALS, URGING THEM TO FIND A WAY TO HANDLE NPW VISITS ON THE SAME BASIS AS CONVENTIONALLY POWERED WARSHIPS. THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE, NAMELY DUTCH LEGISLATION WHICH ON ITS FACE CREATED CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES, HAS NOW BEEN SURMOUNTED, WE ARE INFORMED. THE ONLY REMAINING ISSUE IS HOW TO NOTIFY PARLIAMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO PERMIT NPW VISITS. MFA OFFICIALS EMPHASIZE THAT THE RECENT FLAPS INVOLVING ALMELO AND ERW POSE A PROBLEM OF TIMING, MAKING THE POINT THAT WITH PARLIAMENT HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL

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SENSITIZED ON NUCLEAR ISSUES IT WOULD BE BETTER TO DELAY A BIT. WE ARE CONTINUING TO PURSUE SUBJECT BUT, IF IT HAS NOT BEEN SETTLED BY APRIL 11, WE BELIEVE IT IS WORTH TAKING UP WITH VAN DER KLAUW ON THE BASIS THAT OUR ALLIED DEFENSE EFFORT REQUIRES THE ABILITY TO PUT OUR NPW'S INTO EUROPEAN PORTS. THE DEN UYL GOVERNMENT MANAGED TO SEE ITS WAY CLEAR TO GIVE PERMISSION--THOUGH ON AN AD HOC BASIS--ON THREE OCCASIONS (CALIFORNIA, CAVALLO AND BILLFISH) AND NEW GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO AT LEAST AS WELL.

4. MTN - WHILE GON GENERALLY HAS TAKEN POSITIVE AND HELPFUL STANCE ON NEED TO BRING MTN TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, WE HAVE OBSERVED A MORE MUTED DUTCH APPROACH REFLECTING THE DIFFICULTIES FACED BY MANY DUTCH INDUSTRIES (E.G., IRON AND STEEL, SHIP-BUILDING, CHEMICAL FIBERS, AND TEXTILE), GROWING CONCERN OVER PROTECTIONIST MEASURES IN US AND ELSEWHERE, MORE CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDES IN LEADERSHIP OF MINISTRIES OF ECONOMIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND GROWING SUPPORT FOR SEEKING EC CONSENSUS. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, BOTH EMBASSY-USIS AND "FREE TRADERS" IN MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO PROMOTE A WELL-PUBLICIZED VISIT BY AMBASSADOR STRAUSS TO HELP REVIVE BASIC DUTCH INTEREST IN MORE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING MTN TO EXPAND WORLD TRADE (77 THE HAGUE 6333; STATE 8283, THE HAGUE 638). IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF

SECRETARY MIGHT TELL VAN DER KLAAUW THAT USG IS COUNTING ON
ACTIVE DUTCH SUPPORT IN MAKING MTN A SUCCESS.

5. FOR A HAPPY OPENER, THE SECRETARY MIGHT EXPRESS
SATISFACTION WITH THE SIGNATURE MARCH 11 OF A PROTOCOL TO
AMEND THE US-NETHERLANDS AIR AGREEMENT. BOTH SIDES ARE TOGETHER
AGAIN ON AVIATION POLICY, IN CONTRAST TO FOUR YEARS AGO WHEN THIS
WAS THE SOLE BILATERAL ISSUE BETWEEN US.
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